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1st.
THE FIRST ERA

IN THE

HISTORY OF HAVERHILL, MASS.

COMPRISING THE PERIOD FROM THE SETTLEMENT OF THE PLANTATION OF
PENTUCKET (1640) TO THE CONCLUSION OF PERMANENT PEACE
WITH THE INDIANS (1715).

BY JOHN B. CORLISS.

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Corliss, John B.

The first era in the history of Haverhill, Mass. Comprising the period from the settlement of the plantation of Pentucket (1640) to the conclusion of permanent peace with the Indians (1715). By John B. Corliss. Haverhill, Mass., C. C. Morse & son, 1885.

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A HISTORY OF HAVERHILL.

CHAPTER I.

THE PIONEERS.

ABOUT twenty years after the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, and five years subsequent to the founding of the town of Newbury, was settled on the north bank of the Merrimack River the "plantation" of Pentucket. The precise date of its founding is not certain; but it is highly probable, from existing evidence, that the event took place in 1640. On May 13th of that year, the General Court granted to "Mr. Ward and Newberry men"—agreeably to their petition—permission to begin a settlement on the Merrimack River, providing "they built there before the next Courte," which met on the seventh of the following October. At this session, a committee was appointed to "view" the boundary line between Colchester (now Salisbury) and "Mr. Ward's plantation."

There are differences of opinion concerning the identity of "Mr. Ward" mentioned above. Mirick, in his very excellent history of Haverhill, states that he was the same person who, for many years afterward, ministered to the spiritual

needs of the infant settlement, and partook of the hardships and privations of pioneer life in common with his unlettered but resolute countrymen. Chase believes, I think with better reason, that he of whom the court records speak was Nathaniel Ward, father of Rev. John Ward, who, according to the same authority, did not arrive at Pentucket till the autumn of 1641. Nathaniel Ward was born in England in 1570,* and was pastor of a church in Hertfordshire, but left the country on account of non-conformity with the established church. He came to America, and settled at Ipswich, in 1631. Afterward he returned to England.

His son, Rev. John Ward, remained to lead the settlers of Pentucket in their struggle for a home, and to preach his faith in a wilderness. Born in Haverhill,† England.

*Other authorities have thrown some doubt on the date of his birth. The Historical and Genealogical Register, July, 1864, in an article on the "Epitaph of Rev. John Ward, of Haverhill, Eng.," thinks he was born eight or ten years later. He died in 1653.

†The same authority states that Rev. Nathaniel Ward removed from Haverhill to Ipswich in 1623. If this be true, his son John most probably was born in that town.

Nov. 5, 1606, he was educated at the university of Cambridge, and came to this country in 1639. Soon after his arrival at Pentucket, the name of the plantation was changed to Haverhill, as a compliment to him.

The first settlers of Pentucket were, besides Mr. Ward, as follows: William White, Samuel Gile, James Davis, Henry Palmer, John Robinson, Christopher Hussey, John Williams, Richard Littlehale, all from Newbury; and Abraham Tyler, Daniel Ladd, Joseph Merrie, and Job Clement, from Ipswich. The first house was erected near what is now Pentucket Cemetery, and the thickest part of the settlement clustered about that neighborhood. Gradually, as their numbers increased, the pioneers pushed their way into the wilderness, some of the more fearless building solitary habitations far beyond the sight and sound of their companions.

New arrivals, from time to time, swelled the number of the colonists; but the names of most of them are unknown. Chase mentions only John Favor, Hugh Sherratt, and Job Clement (son of Robert) as having arrived in 1640-1. To these may be added the name of George Corliss, who came from Newbury during one of those years; and it is probable that the Cross estate, now included in the town of Methuen was settled about the same time.

Subjoined are brief biographical sketches of a part of the earlier settlers.

Rev. John Ward, as before stated, was born in Haverhill, England, and emigrated to the New World in

1639. After preaching in Agumetius (York, Me.), in the early part of 1641 he came to the frontier settlement of Pentucket. Cotton Mather, in his "Magnalia," says that Mr. Ward was "learned, ingenious, and religious;"* and adds, after the manner of the times, that, notwithstanding he had various offers of rich matches in England, yet he married a "meaner" person. This was Alice Edmunds, a young English woman, with whom he lived happily more than forty years, and by whom he had two children, Mary and Elizabeth. His wife died Mar. 24, 1680. Additional facts concerning his life will be found from time to time in the pages which follow.

William White came to America in 1637, settled in Ipswich, and subsequently in Newbury, leaving the latter town to accompany the adventurous spirits who founded Pentucket. He died Sept. 28, 1690, at the age of eighty years. His property was valued at £508, 10s; and he bequeathed the ten shillings to Mr. Ward. He also gave to the church the linen cloth on the communion table and a pewter dish, belonging to him, which was used at the sacrament. After his death, his widow removed to Ipswich, where she died three years later.

Mr. White was an honorable man, prominent in public affairs, and a firm supporter of the church. He had one child, John, who married

*Perhaps not unlike his grandfather, Rev. John Ward, of Haverhill, Eng., concerning whom there is a quaint inscription in Latin verse on a mural tablet in the chancel of his church, of which the following is a translation:—

"Grant some of knowledge greater store,
More learned some in teaching;
Yet few in life did lighten more,
None thundered more in preaching."

in Salem, Aug. 25, 1662, and died in 1669.

Hugh Sherratt, or Sherrit, came from Ipswich or, in the opinion of Mirick, from Salisbury. In 1650, the town granted him a house-lot "over the little river," probably near what is now Washington Square. He was, in 1662, allowed to keep an "ordinary" for the sale of intoxicating liquors at retail. He finally, in his old age, became a town charge; and died Sept. 5, 1678, having lived to be one hundred years old. If the moralist be led to desecant upon the fact of his dependent circumstances as resulting from the demoralization attending liquor selling, he will hardly claim that it shortened his life in any great degree.

Thomas Davis came from Marlborough, England. Chase believes he was a brother of James Davis, one of the first settlers of Nantucket. He married in England; and, emigrating to America in 1641, settled in Newbury, but removed to Haverhill the following spring. He died July 27, 1683.

Tristram Coffin was born in Plymouth, England, in 1609. He married, and in 1642, sailed for America, bringing with him his mother, two sisters, wife, and five children—Peter, Tristram, Elizabeth, James, and John. It is not known where he landed, but he came to Haverhill in the summer of the same year. He is said to have been the first in town to plough. In 1643, he moved to Newbury, where he settled, probably close by the river and opposite "Carr's Island." A year or two after,—authorities differ as to the

date,—he was licensed to keep an "ordinary," or tavern; and, in 1645, his wife was "presented" for "selling beere at 3d a quarte," which, it appears, was contrary to law, 2d being the legal price.

Mirick states that Coffin afterward went to Salisbury, and that, in 1662, having purchased four-tenths of the island of Nantucket, he removed thither.

Coffin had a daughter Mary, who was a remarkable woman. She married Nathaniel Starbuck, at Nantucket. She took prominent part in public affairs, and was revered as a person of superior intelligence. She became a proselyte to the faith of the Friends, or Quakers, and took charge of the spiritual concerns of the entire island. Her death occurred in 1717.

Robert Clement came from England in the ship with Tristram Coffin, near whom he settled in Haverhill. With him came his wife and four children—John, Lydia, Robert, and Sarah. He had been preceded by his son Job, and was followed by his youngest daughter, who arrived some ten years later, and soon after married John Osgood, of Andover. Chase states that Robert Clement was the first deputy of the town to the General Court, was associate judge, county commissioner, and held various other offices of trust. He died in 1658, being about sixty-eight years old. His son Robert was the first cooper in town. In 1652, this son married Elizabeth Fane, who bore him eleven children. He also held various town offices, and was a large land-owner. His house was near the site of the Exchange Building, Water Street.

Job, the son of Robert Clement, was a tanner. He espoused Margaret Dummer, and his was the first marriage in the town.

George Corliss—then spelled Corle—was born in Devonshire County, England, about the year 1617. He immigrated to America, as nearly as can be ascertained, in 1639; and proceeded to Newbury. A year or two later he settled in Haverhill, where, Oct. 26, 1645, he married Joanna Davis, a native of Wales. His was the second marriage in Haverhill. Tradition has it, that, when married, he had a pair of silk breeches, which his wife afterward made into a dress for herself. Thus the worthy dame, in a happy and novel way, relieved herself of all embarrassment in wearing the time-honored insignia of conjugal authority, and I have no doubt wielded her power with grace and wisdom.

In 1647, Mr. Corliss built a log house on his farm, about three miles west of the little settlement, on land now the property of Charles Corliss, situated on Broadway. The dwelling was erected on a sunny knoll, close by a small brook. Traces of its cellar are still visible.

George Corliss died Oct. 19, 1686, leaving a family of one son and seven daughters. To clearly illustrate the amount of landed and other property accumulated by these earliest settlers, I append a copy of his last will and testament:—

“THE LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT OF GEORGE CORLE, MADE OCT. 18, 1686.

“I, being weak in body, but well in minde, and not Knowing how itt may please God to Deal with me, I make my will, as followeth:—

“1st. I Doe Committ my Soul to God that gave itt, and to Jesus Christ that hath Redeemed itt, O Lord, my God, most true! and my body to the Earth.

“2d. To my son, John Corle, I give the Farme he now Lives on, with two Commonages, and my Lower Spickett meadow, and my meadow att Policy, and my Land att west meadow; also I give him half the fourth Division and two Commonages to the west meadow Land only. I give my wife a quarter part that I was to have of my Son John in kind as Long as She Lives, and that Shee Shall have Liberty to Enjoy that House that I lived in for her Life time, if Shee pleases.

“3d. To my Daughter Nef,* I give the Land that my Son Nef Lives on,† and to her children born of body forever; and the Pond meadow and one Commonage.

“4th. And, to my Daughter Hutchins, I give to her two hundred Acres of Land and four Acres of meadow att Policy, and two cows, (my Son in Law, Joseph Hutchins. Did ingage to me, that, if I would give him assurance of that Land, he would make over to my Daughter, to Hannah, his wife, and her Children, his house and Land upon the Hill

“Land Should be made Sure to him, provided that he do make over that House and Land, or that which may be Equivalent.)

“5th. To my Son and Daughter Martha Lad, I give them Ninety Acres of Land att West Meadow that I have possessed them of already, and one Commonage.

“6th. To my son and Daughter Eastman, I give to them half my Upper Spickett meadow, and one Commonage, and one Cow.

“7th. To my Son and Daughter Ane Roby, I give them of Land

*Afterwards the companion of Hannah Dustin in her memorable escape from the savages.

†Probably the farm now owned by William Swazey, Broadway.

that I recovered of my Brother Davis by Law, and two Commonages.

"8th. To my Son and Daughter Kingsbury, I give them Thirty Acres of Land being att West Meadow, and one Commonage.

"9th. And to my Daughter Sarah Corle, I give her one Cow and two Sheep, half the fourth Division, and one Swine. I give further to my Son John Halfe that ox which is betwixt him and myselfe. I further order my Son John to pay all my Debts; and I pray you to be dutifull to your mother and fulfill this Obligation to her, or you forfeit your Obligation that is betwixt you and myselfe: and for my Household Stuff, and one Cow, and two Calves, and my Sheep, and all my Clothes, I leave my wife to Dispose as Shee pleases. I order my Son John to See that my Will be fulfilled.

"his

"GEORGE X CORLE.
mark.

"Witness:

"John Tenny.

"Eliz. A. Woster.

"Sarah Wallingford."

The first recorded birth in Haverhill was that of a son to John Robinson, in 1641. The child lived but three weeks. The second recorded birth, in 1642, was also a son to the same man; and this infant survived but a week.

Robinson was a blacksmith. In 1657, he bought land in Exeter, and soon removed thither.

CHAPTER II.

THE BEGINNING OF TROUBLE WITH THE INDIANS.

DURING the fall of 1642, the colony of Massachusetts Bay was profoundly stirred by rumors of a general uprising of the Indians. Consternation and dismay filled the hearts of the settlers. The governor and council thought it proper to

attempt the disarmament of all natives within their reach. On the reception of a warrant from Boston, forty men from Newbury, Rowley, and Ipswich set forth to "disarm Passaconaway, who lived by the Merrimack."

This famous Indian was sachem of the Penacooks, the most powerful tribe of northern New England, which held sway over numerous subordinate tribes, the Nashuas, Wametsits, Agawams, and others, levying tribute from each. He exerted great influence over his people, and it is believed, over a large portion of the great aboriginal family, the Algonquins, of which the Penacooks formed a part.

The armed force from Newbury, and other towns, mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, for some unexplained reason failed to capture Passaconaway; but secured the person of his son, with his squaw and child. While returning with the prisoners, the son broke away from his captors, and, although shot at, escaped.

Upon learning of this outrage, the governor of the colony despatched a friendly Indian in search of Passaconaway to present an apology for the seizure of his family, and to explain why the Indians were to be disarmed. The squaw and child were also sent back. The chief was not resentful, and afterward voluntarily surrendered his arms. At a subsequent date, he went to Penacook, N. H., where he is supposed to have remained.

The expected Indian uprising did not occur; but it was afterwards learned that such a scheme had been

devised, the Narragansetts being the prime instigators in the plot.

CHAPTER III.

THE TOWN DEED.

IN 1642, the settlers of Haverhill obtained of its Indian owners a deed of the town, as follows:—

“KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS,

“That wee, Passaquo and Sagga Hew, with ye consent of Passaconaway, have sold unto ye inhabitants of Pentucket all ye lands wee have in Pentucket: that is, eyght myles in length from ye little River in Pentucket, Westward; Six myles in length from ye aforesaid River, northward; And six myles in length from ye aforesaid River Eastward, with ye Island and ye river that ye island stands in as far in length as ye land lyes by as formerly expressed—that is, fourteen myles in length. And wee, ye said Passaquo and Sagga Hew, with ye consent of Passaconaway, have sold unto ye said inhabitants all ye right that wee or any of us have in ye said ground and Island and River: And wee warrant it against all or any other Indians whatsoever unto ye said Inhabitants of Pentucket, and to their heires and assigns forever. Dated ye fifteenth day of November, Ann. Dom. 1642.

“Witness our hands and seales to this bargayne of sale, ye day and year above written, in ye presents of us, wee, ye said Passaquo and Sagga Hew, have received in hand, for & in consideration of the same, three pounds & ten shillings.

“Ye marke of
“PASSAQUO (bow and arrow).
[SEAL.]

“Ye marke of
“SAGGA HEW (bow and arrow).
[SEAL.]

“John Ward.
“Robert Clements.
“Tristram Coffin.
“Hugh Sheratt.
“William White.
“Ye signe of
“Thomas O. Davis.”

This deed was not copied into the town records till 1680.

A glance at the terms of sale reveals the fact, that the proverbial capacity for sharp dealing, which the native New Englander of to-day possesses, descended to him through legitimate channels. A trifle over fifteen dollars for a tract of land comprising perhaps a third more than the present city of Haverhill could not have been, even in those days, a munificent compensation!

In May, 1643, the colony of Massachusetts Bay was divided into four counties—Essex, Middlesex, Suffolk and Norfolk. Haverhill, which had previously belonged to Essex, was now assigned to Norfolk, together with the towns of Salisbury, Hampton, Exeter, Dover, and Strawberry Bank (Portsmouth). Haverhill remained in Norfolk County till 1679, when, in accordance with the King's order, recalling all commissions for governing that part of New Hampshire Province lying three miles north from Merrimack River, it was restored to Essex County, and all its territory lying more than three miles north of the river was included in New Hampshire.

The first recorded town-meeting was held Nov. 6, 1643; and the first vote carried was to prevent the wanton and unnecessary destruction of timber. At the same meeting it was voted, that three hundred acres only should be laid out in houselots, and that no man should have more than twenty acres. This tract is now included in the business section of the city, and was known as an “accommodation grant.”

The General Court this year grant-

ed to Haverhill "a parcel of meadow-land (about six score acres, more or less) west of Haverhill about six miles." Nathaniel Ward, father of Rev. John Ward, was also, at the same term, granted six hundred acres of land "near Pentucket."

Richard Littlehale was chosen "clerk of the writs"* and town recorder. He continued in office till 1664.

The fifth of March, 1643, was memorable on account of an earthquake, which, according to Winthrop, did no particular damage. According to the same authority, there also occurred, on July 5th, a tornado, which "lifted up their meeting-house at Newbury, the people being in it. It darkened the air with dust; yet, through God's great mercy, it did no hurt, but only killed one Indian with the fall of a tree."

On the sixth of February, 1644, a town-meeting was held, and a vote was passed, as follows: "All landholders shall pay all publique rates according to their number of acres that they hold to their houselots; and, if any man shall buy one acre of meadow, one acre and halfe of planting-ground, or one acre of commonage to his houselott, he shall pay proportionately for every acre or commonage with the houselott."

At another meeting, held on the twenty-seventh of the same month, Job Clement was granted a quarter of an acre of land near the mouth of Mill Brook, on condition that he erect a tannery. This he did. Clement was a brother of Robert, one of

the witnesses to the Indian deed of the town.

December 28th, were wedded Job Clement and Margaret Dummer. This was the first marriage in town.

On the sixteenth of February, 1645, and for several days following, so much snow fell as to render the roads impassable for three weeks. The winter previously had been remarkably mild.

Chase says there were thirty landholders in town this year.

Haverhill was incorporated into a town sometime in 1645.

The first church society organized during the summer. It was composed of fourteen members, eight male and six female. In October, John Ward was ordained pastor by an assembly of magistrates and ministers of neighboring churches.* This church society was the twenty-sixth gathered in the colony.

At a town-meeting held Oct. 29, 1646, it was voted to pay Minister Ward an annual salary of £40. It was also voted that his land be "rate free" during his life, if he continued minister to the plantation, and used such land himself.

The first selectmen of the town were chosen at the same meeting. They were Thomas Hale, Henry Palmer, Thomas Davis, James Davis, and William White.

Feb. 13, 1647, John Ayer, Sen., and James Fiske were fined for being late at town-meeting.

The General Court of May, 1647, appointed John Osgood, of Andover, and Thomas Hale, of Haverhill, to "lay out the way from Andover to Haverhill; and James Da-

*The "Court of the Writs" was one to try causes in which the amount involved did not exceed forty shillings.

*Mirick.

vis, Jr., and Antho: Staniell, from Haverhill to Exeter.”

The inhabitants of Haverhill this year petitioned the General Court to enlarge the town. The Court appointed a committee “to view the place, and returne their apprehensions to ye next General Courte.”

At the same session,—Oct. 27, 1647,—“town-marks were assigned to each town, for marking cattle. That of Haverhill was the letter ‘H.,’ which was to be put upon the near quarter.”*

An order, that every town of fifty families, or more, must support a school, was passed at the same session.

The same court also ordered that the inhabitants of Haverhill should choose an officer to drill their military company.

Richard Littlehale was this year voted a salary of thirty shillings to beat his drum on the Lord’s day, morning and evening, and on lecture and town-meeting days.

This year, George Davis was “presented” for “unseemly conduct toward his first wife’s daughter,” Richard Greene was “presented” for drunkenness, and John Brown was fined thirty shillings for beating his wife. Thus it will be seen that the criminal element existed even in the colony’s earliest days.

During the early part of this same year, Job Clement was made a free-man at Ipswich court, and made constable for Haverhill. Chase thinks he was the first one in town.

The settlement now began to extend toward the north and west. Grants of land were made north of

Pond Meadow, and habitations had been built near what is now Sargent’s sq.

Thomas Whitter, of Newbury, brought the first swarm of bees into town.

The town was “presented” at the September term of the General Court, for not having a ferry.

At the town-meeting, held March, 1648, the town voted to erect a meeting-house “on the lower knowle at the lower end of the mill lot.” This was the ground which Linwood and Pentucket cemeteries now occupy. The edifice was completed the following autumn. It was twenty-six feet by twenty, one story, and had neither gallery nor cupola. Chase says the underpinning was rough stones.

Hugh Sherritt was this year put under bonds for good behavior. Two years before he had been licensed to sell wine.

During the year, the Congregational platform of church government was formed by a synod assembled at Cambridge.

At the March term of the General Court, Haverhill was again “presented” for not having a ferry. A fine of forty shillings, and fees, was imposed in case the town did not provide a ferry-boat within six months. The town thereupon came to terms, and appointed Thomas Hale as ferryman. The rate of ferryage was fixed at one penny for single passengers, two pence for young cattle, and four pence for those full grown.

Thomas Hall, Henry Palmer, and Thomas Davis were appointed to try cases in which the value in-

*Chase.

volved was less than forty shillings.

John Ayer and Job Clement were chosen grand jurymen on the thirteenth of November.

Feb. 18, 1649, Thomas Hale was chosen constable.

During this year, the General Court ordered the town to erect a watch house, a pound, and stocks. The last-named terror to minor offenders were put up on the easterly side of the common.

Sometime during 1649, there came several persons from Rowley, and settled across the Merrimack opposite Haverhill. That was then the western portion of Rowley, and those men were the founders of Bradford.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SECOND DECADE.

HAVERHILL had now been settled ten years. The town had largely increased in population and in property. From this time, the stalwart English yeomen were certain to retain the foothold they had secured in the wilds of the New England; and the introduction of European civilization was but a question of time.

About the year 1650, the first orchards in town were set out, one by John Clement and one by Stephen Kent. Chase believes that Clement's orchard was situated a little north of the cemetery, and Kent's near the house where the late Samuel W. Ayer lived.

The town this year chose a committee to run the boundary line between Haverhill and Salisbury. The Haverhill members of the commis-

sion were Thomas Hale, John Clement, and John Davis.

In December, 1650, the town offered to John Hoyt, of Amesbury,* three-fourths of an acre of land, with some claypits (Hoyt being a brick-maker), if he would settle in Haverhill. This offer he accepted. If not the first, he certainly was one of the earliest brickmakers in the place. The claypits referred to are located in the West Parish, on the farm of George Corliss.

Henry Palmer, Job Clement, and Thomas Davis were appointed by the General Court to "end small causes," and Robert was empowered to give the oath of fidelity in the town.

This year, there were forty-three freemen in Haverhill.

About this time, Robert, Thomas, and Peter Ayer settled in the north-western part of the town, and thus "Ayers' Village" had its beginning. Another brother, John, had previously settled near Plug Pond.

In 1651, the General Court appointed a commission to lay out the bounds between Haverhill and Salisbury. The committee chosen by the town the previous year practically had accomplished nothing. The report of the above commissioners was approved by the Court, but the result of their labors cannot now be ascertained.

Roads between Haverhill and Rowley and Haverhill and Salisbury were laid out.

Isaac Cousins and others were, in December, granted permission to erect a sawmill on Little River.

*Merrill's History of Amesbury.

Cousins was a blacksmith, probably the first in town.

Mill Street was laid out about this time. For years, it was the principal street leading to the village.

June 7, 1652, the second division of land for cultivation was laid out, in the ratio of four acres to one acre of house-lot. Forty-one persons received a share of this division.

September 7th of the same year, the town voted to pay Mr. Ward an annual salary of fifty pounds.

Richard Littlehale was relieved of the position of public drummer; and Abraham Tyler was substituted, his instrument for calling to public worship and to town meetings being a horn in place of a drum. His salary was a peck of corn annually from each family in town.

The county court this year fined Stephen Kent, of Haverhill, ten pounds for having drunken Indians about his premises.

On July 4, 1653, the town voted to grant six acres of land (formerly granted to Isaac Cousins, but forfeited by him) to John Webster, provided he live in the town, and ply his trade of blacksmith for five years. For some reason, however, he remained in town but four years.

Stephen Webster, a brother of the foregoing, settled in Haverhill during 1653. He was a tailor, and the first in town.

The second division of meadow was laid out; and, about the same time, the island was divided.

The third division of upland was laid out. It was situated in the West Parish.

Abraham Tyler's horn was retired, and the resonant drum rein-

stated in public favor. But it was beaten by Edward Clark instead of Robert Littlehale.

To illustrate social life under the "blue laws," it is well to state that the wife of Joseph Swett was, sometime during the year, fined ten shillings for wearing a silk hood. The wife of John Hutchins was "presented" for the same offence, but was discharged because she had been brought up above the ordinary way.

James George was the herdsman of the town, it being a custom of the settlers to combine their several flocks into a herd, and hire a man to tend them. George's compensation for such service was twelve shillings and six pence a week, payable in butter or maize.

On Feb. 9, 1654, Stephen Kent, by vote of the town, was given permission to place a weir on Little River, for the purpose of catching alewives.

In May, agreeably to a petition of citizens of Haverhill, the General Court appointed a commission to again look over the disputed boundary between Salisbury and Haverhill. The commission reported on the twenty-third of September, recommending a change in the existing line between the towns. This change was assented to by the court, but the dispute was not thereby ended.

Thomas Dow died on May 31st. He was the first adult taken by death after the settlement of the town.

The ox-common was enlarged during the year, and also enclosed by a fence. This common was situated on the south shore of Kenosha Lake, and was the most extensive ever laid out in the town.

In 1655, the meeting-house was repaired, Thomas Davis being voted three pounds by the town "for to ground-pin and dawb it." The "dawb"-ing consisted in plastering it with clay up the beams.

This year, the General Court ordered Robert Haseltine to keep a ferry over the Merrimack at Haverhill. Haseltine lived in Bradford.

The next year, a difficulty arose between Minister Ward and a portion of his people. The dispute was principally about that gentleman's salary, which, the people declared, was exorbitant. The quarrel was in a manner settled by a church council convened for the purpose. Mr. Ward, it was decided, should have a yearly salary of fifty pounds, partially payable in grain. The General Court subsequently levied a rate of £12, 19s. on the town to defray the expense of this council.

Michael Emerson arrived during the year. Shortly after his coming, he was offered a tract of land if he "would go back into the woods." He did so, and settled not far from the corner of Primrose and Winter Streets.*

The first arrival of Quakers in the colony took place during 1656, and their persecution immediately begun. There is no evidence that any of the sect visited Haverhill; and it is probable that the town escaped the odium of taking part in the infamous warfare, which, till 1661, was waged against Roger Williams and his followers.

March 6, 1657, Thomas Hutchins was given permission to set a weir in the Merrimack River, "at the lit-

tle island above the town by the falls." A land-grant was also made to him, on condition that he furnish the inhabitants of the town fish in exchange for produce, or whatever they could best pay.

"Goodman" Simons was appointed ferry keeper sometime during the early part of 1657.

During the year, the town voted that any person, not a freeholder, moving into town, should be taxed by estimate of the selectmen, or according to his "visible estate." Previously, only freeholders were required to pay taxes.

The third division of meadow was laid out in the spring of 1658.

During the same year, John Johnson, a blacksmith, was induced to settle in Haverhill. He came from Charlestown, bringing with him a wife and young child. He was grandfather to the late Washington Johnson, who, for many years, plied the family trade of blacksmithing on Stage Street, his smithy standing on land once the property of the first of his name in town.

Joseph Pearley was this year fined "forty shillings for beating Peter Brown, and twenty shillings for abusing Timothy Swan."

A fourth division of upland was laid out during 1659. It was located beyond the Spickett (then known as Spiggot) River, in Salem, N. H.

Nov. 29, 1659, the town voted to permit no person to settle in the town without first obtaining the town's consent.

A committee was this year appointed to enlarge the meeting-house.

On November 27th, Daniel Ladd

*Chase.

and Theophilus Shatswell were given permission to build a sawmill on the Spickett River. The mill privilege was rented to them at five pounds per annum.

Sometime during the year, John Clement sailed for England, and was drowned on the passage. His brother Robert, in September, applied to the General Court for appointment as administrator of John's estate. Probably he was the first in town.

Nov. 30, 1660, the land in the rear of the meeting-house was ordered to be reserved for a burial ground. This was the beginning of Pentucket Cemetery.

At the same town-meeting, two hundred and ten acres of land were appropriated for a parsonage.

Another ox-common (the second) was granted, to be located between Merrie's Creek (since known as Creek Brook) and a brook flowing from West Meadow.

About the same time, the first public school was established in the town. Its teacher was Thomas Wasse, who was paid a salary of ten pounds a year. He likewise taught schools in Newbury and Ipswich.

On Feb. 28, 1661, the town ordered the laying-out of a fourth division of meadow.

The road near "Huckleberry Hill" was laid out during the year, and also the highway between Newbury and Haverhill.

In 1662, William White was made captain, and Daniel Ladd lieutenant, of the militia company in Haverhill.

The town offered a bounty of forty shillings for every wolf killed within its borders. This was in ad-

dition to bounties previously offered by the colony and the county.

William Simmons, who was the town's ferryman, was more or less skilled in medicine, as appears from a vote of the town this year, granting him "the overplus in the constable's hands, of the county rate, to satisfy him for his curing of Mathias Button."

There was a severe drought during the summer of this year.

In 1663, it was voted to change the time of holding the annual town-meeting to the first Tuesday in March.

On the 26th of January, a slight earthquake shock was felt in New England. It was much more violent in Canada, where it lasted half an hour.*

On Dec. 28, 1663, Elizabeth, daughter of Rev. John Ward, married Nathaniel Saltonstall, of Ipswich, who had removed to Haverhill. Saltonstall was descended from an ancient family of Yorkshire, England. His grandfather, Richard, a nephew† of him of the same name who was Lord Mayor of London in 1597, was one of the six original patentees of Massachusetts. His father—also named Richard—came to America in 1630 with his parent, being then twenty years of age. This young man returned to England, and married, coming back to the New World in 1635, and settled in Ipswich. After holding various public offices in the colony, and voyaging to and fro between England and America several times, he died in the former country April 29, 1694, at the age of eighty-four.

*Dwight.

†Sketch of Haverhill, in Mass. Hist. So. collections, vol. IV., 2d series; 1816.

CHAPTER V.

THE FIRST SURVEY OF THE TOWN.

THE year 1664 was an uneventful one with the settlers. A large comet, which appeared on the 17th of November, and remained in sight till the fourth of the next February,* seems to have furnished almost the only incident of public interest. Another ox-common was laid out, a pound—the first in town—was built near the meeting-house, and John Carleton was chosen town-recorder and clerk of the writs.

The next year, at the annual town-meeting, a road from Holt's Rocks to the county bridge, East Meadow, was ordered to be laid out. Holt's Rocks was located just below the present site of Rocks Bridge.

Nathaniel Saltonstall was chosen captain of the military company, and George Brown ensign.

At the annual meeting in 1666, John Hutchens and others were granted permission to build a gallery on the westerly side of the meeting-house.

During the May session of the General Court, a committee was appointed to run the bounds of Haverhill.

John Barnard and wife were fined for incontinence during 1666. He was forced to pay three pounds, and she forty shillings.

This year also marked the first appearance of the canker-worm in New England.†

The committee appointed by the General Court to run the bounds of Haverhill made their report—which

was approved—in May, 1667. The committee began their survey by running a line eight miles in length, due west from the meeting-house. From the extremity of this line, they ran another south to the Merrimack River, and north until it intersected the northeasterly boundary of the town, which was a line running due northwest from Holt's Rocks. Haverhill, it will be seen, thus formed a triangle, the river being the southern boundary. It comprised, not only its present area, but also the present town of Atkinson, and the greater part of the towns of Methuen, Salem, Hampstead, and Plaistow. This was the first official running of the bounds of Haverhill by authority of the General Court.

More accommodation land was laid out in July.

A road was ordered to be built "down the valley to Holt's Rocks."

In 1668, Nathaniel Saltonstall was chosen town-recorder and clerk of the writs. At the next session of the General Court, he was also authorized to join people in marriage.

At the annual meeting, the town passed another vote for the preservation of timber.

The first general fast was observed in 1668.

Ten pounds, to be expended in firewood, were added to Mr. Ward's salary in 1669.

Andrew Greeley was chosen ferryman the same year.

The highway from Haverhill to Topsfield was laid out in the spring.

A new bridge over Little River was built during the year. It was in the place now occupied by the Winter Street Bridge. Every in-

*Hutchinson.

†Dwight.

habitant of the town was obliged to contribute labor towards its construction.

In October, the General Court ordered, that George Brown be made lieutenant, and James Parker ensign, of the militia company at Haverhill.

At the annual town-meeting of 1670, it was voted to erect a school-house. The town's school had until then been kept in some private house; but probably an increased number of scholars imperatively demanded more room. The building in prospect was to be used as a watch-house, and for other purposes, as well as to accommodate the school. William White, Peter Ayer, and Nathaniel Saltonstall were made a committee of construction. The building fund was to be raised by taxation, provided voluntary contributions were insufficient.

The same year, the town passed a resolution, in effect, that no vote taken after sunset should be valid.

A house situated a short distance northeast of the village, belonging to Matthias Button, a "Dutchman," was burned in 1671.

The next year, at the annual meeting, the town directed the selectmen to provide a place in the meeting-house, where, according to law, the town's ammunition should be stored.

Two Indians, Simon and Samuel, were, in 1672, fined five pounds for horse-stealing. They were of a class styled "converted Indians." This very Simon, who lived in Haverhill and Amesbury, probably as a "hired man" of various settlers, afterward

became a leading spirit among his people during the bloody Indian wars.

John Littlehale, of Haverhill, at a court held in Hampton on the 8th of September, was prosecuted for living the life of a bachelor, "contrary to the law of the country, whereby hee is subject to much evil." John was given six weeks' time to quit his "solitary life," and become a member of some orderly family. If he failed to obey this command, and refused to submit to the order of the court, he was to be imprisoned at hard labor in the house of correction at Ipswich. It is perhaps needless to say that the wrath of outraged law was speedily appeased.

John Littlehale was the son of Richard Littlehale, one of the original settlers of the town. At the time the above order was promulgated, he was twenty-two years of age. He remained a bachelor, however, forty-four years longer, marrying at the age of sixty-six, and becoming the father of two children.

On the 24th of September, a storm of rain and snow occurred. Snow remained on the ground for two days.

Notwithstanding the town was so jealous of its forests, and had, time after time, passed stringent regulations regarding the felling of trees, the violation of such restrictions became so flagrant that a special town-meeting was called for Jan. 9, 1674, to consider the matter. It was unanimously decided, that no timber should be transported out of town, or even allowed to be brought to the river side, lest, perchance, it might secretly be floated down stream. At

the March meeting of the same year, viewers of boards, &c., were chosen for the first time.

At the same meeting, John Keyzar, of Salem, was offered a grant of land, &c., if he would settle in the town, and ply his trade of tanner. He accepted the offer.

The selectmen were paid a yearly stipend of fifty shillings, to be divided among them.

The boundary question came up again during the year. It seems that the survey taken in 1667 was left uncompleted. The selectmen hired Jonathan Danforth, a distinguished surveyor, to finish the work. This he did in 1674, and presented his report to the General Court the next year.

During 1674, Robert Swan was fined twenty shillings for drunkenness and swearing; and Michael Emerson was fined five shillings for "excessive beating of his daughter with a flayle-swingel, and kicking of her." This would lead to the inference, that our forefathers considered drunkenness a greater offence than brutality.

CHAPTER VI.

PREPARING FOR WAR.

IN 1675, King Phillip's War began. This was but a portent of the storm that was gathering. King Phillip, although chief of the Wampanoags, belonging mostly in Rhode Island, exerted influence over nearly all the New England tribes. They sympathized with him; and the feeling thus engendered was probably one of the chief causes of the wars and massacres which followed in

succeeding years, and made of New England a "dark and bloody ground," where no man's life was safe for an instant, and where existence was maintained only at the cost of unceasing vigilance and desperate warfare with the red man.

On Feb. 19, 1675, the town held a special meeting on account of the alarming rumors which had reached the place. A fortification had, in previous years, been erected about the meeting-house; but it had been neglected, and had fallen into decay. The town now voted that the fortification be put into condition for defence immediately. Port-holes were to be cut in the walls, and "a flanker erected at the east corner." A committee, consisting of Daniel Ladd, Peter Ayer, and Thomas Whittier, were also chosen, and instructed to select certain houses to be garrisoned. The "old brush and top-wood" on the common was ordered to be burnt, that it might not afford shelter to the foe in case of attack. The General Court also took measures to protect the frontier settlements.

This year it was voted to hold the annual town-meetings on the last Tuesday in February, instead of the first Tuesday in March.

Two daughters of Hannah Bosworth were fined ten shillings each for wearing silk. These fines were subsequently remitted.*

Sept. 18th, John Littlehale was killed by the Indians.†

On the 18th of November, a town-meeting was held. It was called

*Mirick.

†Chase. Of course this cannot be the John Littlehale who was, in 1672, ordered by the court to cease living by himself. I am uncertain of his identity, and even doubt if such tragedy occurred.

for the purpose of devising means to raise eighteen pounds, Haverhill's portion of a tax of £1,553, 5s., 4d., imposed on the colony by the General Court to defray expenses of the Indian war. It was voted to allow the inhabitants to make slaves sufficient to pay the rates.

Michael Emerson was, at the same meeting, chosen viewer of leather.

The first appearance in the colony of the sect called Baptists is recorded in 1676.

The next year, on the second day of May, Ephraim Kingsbury was killed by the Indians; and, on the day next succeeding, Thomas Kimball, of Bradford, was slain, his wife and five children being carried into captivity. This outrage was committed by three Indians, one of whom was Simon, punished in 1672 for horse-stealing.

Philip Eastman, of Haverhill, was killed at the same time.*

The selectmen were, during the year, ordered to remove the pound from the graveyard.†

During the winter, peace was concluded with the Indians. But it was of short duration.

On the twelfth of the following July, Richard Saltonstall, and others of adjoining towns, petitioned the General Court for better protection from the Indians. And, in August, hostilities again commenced. Preparations were made for an attack; but, fortunately, none came.

Daniel Ela was licensed to keep an "ordinary" for one year. Small-pox broke out in his family, where-by he was prevented from transact-

ing business, and his license was extended in consequence.

Hugh Sherratt, having had his property illegally taken from him, was compelled to apply to the town for assistance.*

In the spring of 1678, a formal treaty of peace was concluded with the Indians.

At the annual meeting in 1679, Benjamin Webster and Samuel Parker, shoemakers, were given leave to settle in the town.

March 24, 1680, the wife of Minister Ward died. That venerable man, enfeebled by age, was accorded an assistant, a committee to procure the same being chosen the same year.

Peter Pattee was "presented" for "being absent from his wife several years." The next year, he was again "presented," this time for having another wife in Virginia. In 1677, the town had refused to allow him to become a citizen, and furthermore advised the grand jury to look after him; but he seems to have been a man of tenacity of purpose, for he continued to live in town through all his troubles, and we subsequently see him chosen constable and made ferryman at "Pattee's Ferry."

During the early part of the year, Haverhill was again included in Essex County, together with the towns of Amesbury and Salisbury.

In March, 1681, the town was "presented" at court for not having a schoolmaster, according to law.

John Haseltine this year gave two acres of land to the "perpetual use of the ministry."

*Chase.

†Mirick.

*Mirick.

The committee appointed the previous year to secure an assistant to Mr. Ward reported, at a town-meeting held June 24th, that they had been unsuccessful. Another committee was chosen in their place. A contract was also made with one Josiah Gage to erect a house for the new minister.

A gallery was ordered to be built at the east end of the meeting-house for the accommodation of the women.

At the same meeting, the question of building a new meeting-house was brought forward. The recorder says it was "voted down by the additional and wilful votes of many prohibited by law from voting." This was, perhaps, the beginning of the system of "packing" deliberative assemblies, which is now so dear to the heart of the average American politician.

At a meeting held in June, 1682, ten pounds were raised to procure a new minister.

In July, the parsonage farm was leased to Daniel Bradley for twenty-five years.

On September 18th, another meeting was held to see about the new minister. Overtures were made to Rev. Jeremiah Cushing, of Hingham, but he declined.

At a subsequent meeting, it was voted to purchase the house of Samuel Simons, "for the use of the ministry."

In June, 1683, the question of a new meeting-house was discussed at a special meeting, but no decided action was taken.

Daniel Ela was this year prosecuted for beating his wife.

A committee was chosen to rebuild West Bridge, Sawmill River, as it had been damaged by freshets.

John Page was licensed to keep an "ordinary," and William White was licensed to sell cider for three years.

At the regular town-meeting, John Keezar had been warned not to keep his tan-vats open, as cattle had been killed thereby.

On the 27th of October, another committee was chosen to secure a new minister. The committee formerly chosen seem to have accomplished nothing.

During the year 1685, a highway was laid out between Amesbury and Haverhill. This road was "marked out" in 1612,* but probably was little else than a bridle-path until this year.

The act setting a bounty on wolves was repealed.

James Chadwick was, on the 9th of November, hired to keep a school in town until the next annual meeting, which would be held the following February. For this service, the town was to pay three pounds of corn. He was also entitled to whatever the parents of children might agree to give him, not to exceed four pence a week for a "reader," or six pence for a "writer."

At the annual meeting of 1686, the town directed, that Mr. Chadwick, or some one else, be hired to keep school for the ensuing year.

During the spring, a road was laid out between Rowley and Haverhill.

The selectmen were empowered by the court to "bind out" children, subject to the approval of Maj. Saltonstall.

*Merrill.

In 1687, the bounty on wolves was restored. Sheep had been introduced into the town some years before, and it is probable the abolition of the bounty had resulted in an increase of wolves, and the consequent greater hazard of sheep-husbandry.

The town refused to permit the erection of dams, or other obstructions to the passage of fish up the streams within the town's limits.

On the 27th of October, Richard Singletary died, aged 102 years.

In 1688, the Indian troubles gave signs of breaking out anew. The treaty of ten years previous was in reality little more than an agreement to suspend hostilities. The feelings of resentment and revenge which existed between the two races were controlled for a time, but were certain to burst forth into the fierce flames of war whenever provocation was given or opportunity offered. The condition of the colonists was deplorable, as the tyranny of Andros, the crown's governor of the colony, added a burden which, to the fierce spirit of the Puritans, was more unbearable than the horrors of a frontier war. Town-meetings, for the purpose of deliberation, were declared to be acts of sedition; and Andros boasted, that there was no such a thing as a town in the whole country.

Joseph Emerson and Jacob Whitaker, of Haverhill, were pressed into the service of Andros, to take part in an expedition against the Indians, undertaken in November, 1688. They were ill treated while engaged in this service, in common with the rest of the soldiers. Other acts of oppression were numerous throughout the colony.

Mirick thinks there must have been an epidemic in town during the year, the deaths of many people being mentioned by the recorder.

In April, upon the reception of news of the dethronement of James II. by the Prince of Orange, the people of the colony seized Andros and others, imprisoned them, and organized a council of safety. This council forwarded a circular to the several towns, advising the election of delegates to attend a convention to be holden in Boston, for the purpose of deliberating with the council.

Peter Ayer was chosen to represent Haverhill in this convention.

Meanwhile, rumors of Indian attacks on surrounding towns continued to alarm the inhabitants of Haverhill. On the 13th of August, savages appeared in the North Parish. After killing Daniel Bradley, they approached a field in which Nathan Singletary and his son were at work, shot the father dead, and captured the boy. Scalping Singletary, the Indians retreated in such haste that their captive eluded their vigilance, and escaped.

The General Court, upon appeal of the inhabitants of Haverhill, sent soldiers to reinforce the settlers; but the savages again appeared in the North Parish, on the 17th of October, wounding and taking prisoner Ezra Rolfe, who died three days later.

Rev. Benjamin Rolfe, of Newbury, came to Haverhill during the latter part of the year, as an assistant to Mr. Ward.

Jan. 20, 1690, a meeting was held to take action upon the matter of

procuring an assistant pastor; and it was voted to give Mr. Rolfe a salary of forty pounds, payable in "wheat, rye, and Indian," for one year's service. He was also allowed his board; and Mr. Ward was to have his full salary, provided he would board Mr. Rolfe.

Rumors of Indian massacres continued to arrive with the coming of spring. Despondency fell upon all hearts. A meeting to devise means for defence was held on March 24th; but little seems to have been done, except to vote the selectmen full power to take action in regard to the matter. Indeed, it seems to have been seriously debated whether or not to abandon the settlement, and remove to some less exposed locality.

The selectmen fitted up six garrisons and four "houses of refuge." One garrison, commanded by Sergeant John Haseltine, was situated on what is now Broadway, about half way up Pecker's Hill, on the north side of the road. Haseltine's command consisted of seven men—Onesiphorus Marsh and son of the same name, Nathaniel Haseltine, Eben Webster, Joseph Holt, Thomas Ayer, and Joseph Bond. The house, and land in the vicinity, were owned by Mr. Marsh, who was the ancestor of those of the name in town. The locality was long known as Marsh's Hill.

Another garrison, which stood some distance east of Haverhill bridge, was under command of Sergeant John Webster, whose force consisted of eight men—Stephen Webster, Samuel Watts, Nicholas Brown, Jacob Whittaker, John

Marsh, Robert Ford, Samuel Ford, and Thomas Kingsbury.

A third garrison, owned and commanded by Jonathan Emerson, was located on the west corner of Harrison and Winter Sts. (I believe a portion of this structure is still standing, but so metamorphosed by additions thereto and alterations as to be undistinguishable.) A fourth was commanded by Captain John Ayer, and was located on Kenosza Ave. A fifth was in the North Parish, and was commanded by Joseph Bradley; while the remaining one stood on Mill St., being the property of Captain John White, and under his command. This last named was garrisoned by six men besides the captain, as follows: Stephen Dow and son of the same name, John Dow, Edward Brumidge, Israel Hendrick, and Israel —, Jr.

The "houses of refuge" comprised two brick structures in the easterly part of the town, owned by Joseph and Nathaniel Peaslee, together with the houses of Major Nathaniel Saltonstall and Captain Simon Wainwright. Each was commanded by its owner, and garrisoned by five soldiers.

As an additional precaution, two watch-houses were erected, one standing on Main St., and the other on the river's bank, Water St. The schoolhouse also was utilized for the same purpose. These watch-houses were occupied by soldiers, who kept a lookout night and day.

Householders fortified their dwellings as best they could, and prepared for an emergency.

These garrisons and "houses of refuge" commonly were built of

brick, with exceeding thick walls. Those constructed of wood had a course of bricks laid between the outer and inner walls. They were usually two stories in height, not only because such mode of construction was favorable to maintaining a lookout, but also for the reason, that, in case the enemy obtained possession of the ground floor, the garrison could retreat above, draw up the ladder communicating between the two stories, and make a final stand for life. The solitary door was low and narrow, making it impossible for more than one to enter at a time, and then only by stooping. It is no wonder that the Indian, proverbial for his distaste for open warfare, hesitated to attempt an entrance where lay armed and desperate men who, in the inevitable struggle, would have every advantage. Indeed, the history of Indian warfare shows, that the red man depended almost entirely upon surprise for success, and rarely, if ever, tried to carry a well defended position by direct assault.

The windows of the houses were about thirty inches in length by eighteen in breadth. They were guarded on the inside by iron bars. Diminutive diamond-shaped panes of glass, fastened to the sashes by lead in lieu of putty, allowed the light to enter.

On the 7th of April, another meeting was held, in which it was voted to petition the General Court for a force of at least forty men, to serve as scouts, the expense to be borne by the county. In response, soldiers were despatched to Haverhill, Amesbury, and Salisbury.

On July 5th, eight persons were slain at Exeter and three at Amesbury. On the reception of the news at Haverhill, a special messenger was immediately despatched to Boston, with an appeal for instant aid.

Meanwhile, families in the more exposed localities had moved to the vicinity of the garrisons.

On the 31st of August, Samuel Parker was killed. He, in company with his son, a lad, was curing hay in East Meadow, when he was shot dead. His son, crouching low in the tall grass, and directing his course by the sound of the Indian guns, made his escape.

No more raids were made during the season in this vicinity. The Indians, as was their custom, withdrew toward Canada at the approach of winter. Troops, which had been sent out from Boston, were recalled, and many garrisons soon afterward disbanded.

Then, amid all other horrors, the smallpox appeared. This foe was more dreaded than the savages. But it seems, at this time, to have been of a mild type; for the names of but six who died of the disease are known — Abraham Hendrick, Mary Ford and daughter of the same name, Josiah Starling, Ruth Harts-horne, and Thomas March. John Stockbridge is said to have gone to sea, and there died of the smallpox.

But, in the midst of these troubles, a meeting was held on the last day of the year to secure the continued services of Mr. Rolfe in the ministry. He had been with them a year, and was so liked that it was unanimously voted to induce him to remain, if possible; and a committee

was chosen to confer with him concerning the matter.

CHAPTER VII.

FRONTIER LIFE.

IN the spring of 1691, while the inhabitants were awaiting, almost in despair, the expected attack of the savages, they were thrown into consternation by murder in their very midst. On the 10th of May, twin babes, killed and abandoned, were discovered. The deed was soon traced to its author. Their mother was Elizabeth Emerson, single-woman, and the children had been born on the eighth of the same month. Their father was Sammel Ladd, a married man. The mother had previously—in 1686—given birth to a child. She was the daughter of Michael Emerson, and the same he had so brutally maltreated in 1674. She was imprisoned, and subsequently executed for murdering the infants.

On June 16th, the Indians made their first appearance of the year. Their first victim was John Robie, who, while returning from a "house of refuge" in the North Parish, whither he had been to leave his family of seven children in a place of safety, was shot dead. His son, Ichabod, who accompanied him, was captured, but subsequently escaped.

On the same day, Nathaniel Ladd was mortally wounded.

In October, a family at Haverhill were killed by the Indians.* What family this was is not known.

In 1692, Haverhill escaped a visitation by the savages till the 18th of

July, when Hannah Whittaker was killed.

One day in August, while John Keezar was mowing in Pond Meadow, carelessly leaving his gun under a tree while at work, an Indian, who had been lying in ambush, stealthily crept up, and secured the weapon. Exultingly facing Keezar, who had discovered his peril, he cocked and leveled the gun, exclaiming, "Me kill you now!" But he had mistaken his man. Swinging his scythe in glittering circles, and with a yell that would have done credit to the red man himself, Keezar, without hesitating an instant, plunged at his foe. It was too much for the Indian's nerves. He dropped the gun, and fled, only to be overtaken and disemboweled at one stroke of the scythe in the hands of the infuriated settler.

On the 1st of November, twelve soldiers arrived from Newbury to assist in protecting the town; but no more attacks were made during that year.

Dec. 6, 1692, at a meeting held for the purpose, it was voted to settle Mr. Rolfe as minister.

It was during this year that Susanna Martin, of Amesbury, was convicted of being a witch, and subsequently executed.* Through all the horrible epidemic of misery and crime perpetrated in the name of justice, which prevailed like a plague in the greater part of the colony, inflicting everlasting disgrace wherever it touched, Haverhill kept herself pure. Nay, more: one of her citizens, a judge on the

*Hutchinson.

*Those who wish to read a minute account of this trial I refer to Merrill's History of Amesbury.

supreme bench, resigned his seat rather than countenance the crimes he was powerless to prevent.

Jan. 30, 1693. another meeting was held, which repeated the vote of its predecessor in regard to the settlement of Mr. Rolfe.

On the 19th of March, Jonathan Franklin was killed by the Indians.*

At the annual meeting of this year, which was the first held under the new charter of the colony, the title, "town-recorder," was changed to "town-clerk."

At this meeting, Joseph Peaslee was granted permission to build a sawmill or gristmill on East Meadow Brook, near Brandybrow. The mill was erected at the place since known as Peaslee's Mills.

Another meeting was held on the 8th of May to make preparations for the ordination of Mr. Rolfe. A committee was appointed to find how much Mr. Ward would abate from his maintenance after Mr. Rolfe should be ordained. Mr. Ward agreed to abate all, except, annually, ten pounds each of merchantable wheat and maize, and fifty cords of oak and walnut wood, corded, at his house.

This offer the town accepted; but the time during which it had to be paid was brief. On Dec. 27th, Mr. Ward died.

Eleven days later,—Jan. 7, 1694, —Mr. Rolfe was ordained, although it seems many were opposed to settling him as minister.

This year, for the first time, the duly elected officers of the town were "sworn" to perform their duties, a practice since grown universal.

*Mirick.

The first assessors of the town were chosen, "by command of the county," at a meeting held the 30th of July. They were Capt. Simon Wainwright, Ensign John White, and Cornet Peter Ayer.

Rumors of Indian massacres again alarmed the inhabitants; and, on the 4th of September, Deputy Sheriff Joseph Pike, and Richard Long both of Newbury, were ambushed and killed while traveling between Amesbury and Haverhill.

The annual meeting of 1695 was held on the first Tuesday in March, according to an act of the assembly.

This year, the first town-treasurer was chosen, Lieut. Samuel Ayer being the person selected.

The old dispute concerning the boundary between Amesbury and Haverhill was again revived. The town ordered the selectmen to settle it directly.

Two people were wounded by Indians in this town sometime during the month of August. Chase believes they were the children of Abraham Whittaker.

In early fall, two boys, named Isaac Bradley and Joseph Whittaker, aged respectively fifteen and eleven years, were captured by Indians while working in a field near Bradley's house in the northerly part of the town. The Indians immediately took their prisoners to Lake Winnepiseogee, whereabouts some of their tribe dwelt. Here the lads were received into an Indian family, and acquired their language. Learning that it was the Indians' intention to convey their prisoners to Canada at the coming of spring, the boys planned an escape. An

opportunity to execute their plan occurred in April. One night, while their captors were sleeping, the boys, securing some provisions, left their wigwam, and, taking a southerly course through the forest, ran at the top of their speed till the break of day. They then crawled into a hollow log, and lay concealed. But their savage master was on their track. His dogs followed the trail, and soon came to the log that hid the boys from view. Throwing their meat to the hungry animals, and speaking kindly, induced the dogs to quit barking, and devour the proffered breakfast. Meanwhile the Indians passed by, in plain view, without noticing the occupation of their dogs, which, as soon as they had finished the meat, trotted quietly after their master.

For nine days, these boys wandered through the wilderness, almost famished, with mangled feet and limbs and gradually weakening bodies. Finally, on the ninth day, they arrived at the fort at Saco, and were among friends.

As soon as his strength permitted, Isaac started for Haverhill, and arrived safely. Joseph was seized with a fever; but, on his recovery, returned home with his father, who had set out for Saco immediately on the arrival of Isaac at Haverhill.

In May, 1696, the scheme of building a new meeting-house was furthered by the election of a committee to look for a workman who would contract to build the same "by the lump."

July 28th, the committee reported that Serg. John Haseltine would contract to erect a suitable struc-

ture, fifty by forty feet, and eighteen feet stud, finishing the same complete, for four hundred pounds in money. The bargain was not closed at that time, however.

Early in August, Serg. John Hoyt and Mr. Peters, both of Amesbury, were killed by Indians while journeying between Andover and Haverhill.

On the 15th of the same month, Jonathan Haynes and his four children—Mary, Thomas, Jonathan, and Joseph—were made prisoners by the savages. The children were picking beans in a field near Bradley's Mills, West Parish; their father being engaged in reaping near by. The Indians immediately started for Penacook (Concord, N. H.). At that place, they divided into two parties, each taking a portion of the prisoners. One division, possessing the father and Joseph, started for their home, which was in Maine. The remainder took up their march for Canada, where they subsequently sold the three remaining children to the French.

Meanwhile, the father and son, watchful of every opportunity, succeeded in escaping; and, after much hardship, reached the settlement of Saco.

Of the children carried to Canada, only Mary ever returned. She was ransomed; and she afterwards married, and moved to Connecticut.* The boys virtually became Canadians; and, in after years, when discovered by a relative, they spoke only French, and would not return to their native town.

*Chase.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FIRST GENERAL INCURSION.

ON March 15, 1697, occurred the first general attack on the town. Previous forays had been the work of small bands of Indians, who, depending upon surprise for success, accomplished their work quickly, and were beyond pursuit before the news of their raid had spread. But Haverhill was not destined to escape the horrors which other frontier towns had experienced.

On the above date, a party of about twenty Indians swooped suddenly down upon the western portion of the town; and, almost within an hour, nine houses were in ashes, twenty-seven of their occupants were slain, and thirteen made prisoners.

The habitation of Thomas Dustin, standing in the near vicinity of the highway now known as Monument St., was the first attacked. Mr. Dustin, while at work, perceived the Indians approaching, and hastened to his house. Bidding his seven children to run for some garrison, he rushed to the assistance of his wife, who was in childbed with a babe six days old. But he saw the savages would reach his home before him; and, with breaking heart, he hastened to overtake his children, which he succeeded in doing when forty rods from the house. It had been his intention, when he reached them, to take the one he loved best upon his horse, and escape, leaving the others to their fate. But his resolution was thrown to the winds when he overtook the frightened flock hurrying in the di-

rection of the garrison, huddled together for protection, the older ones guiding the stumbling footsteps of the younger, and all implicitly trusting to their father for safety. Leaping from his horse, with leveled gun Mr. Dustin faced the pursuing savages. A charge would have made the destruction of the little band certain; but it did not come. To face an armed and desperate man was not to their liking; and Mr. Dustin, partially sheltering himself behind his horse, conveyed his children in safety to the garrison, which was probably that of Onesipherous Marsh.

While Mr. Dustin was covering his children's retreat to the garrison, the savages were at work elsewhere. Entering Dustin's home, they forced his wife to arise from bed. The nurse, Mary Neff, having tried to escape with the infant, had already been captured. After rifling the house, they set it on fire; and, with Mrs. Dustin, feeble with illness, accompanied by ten or a dozen other captives, the northward march was begun. But hardly were the party started when one of the Indians brained the baby against an apple-tree, and flung its body aside.

See them! The sun of coming spring has thawed the snow on exposed southern slopes and along the roadways, where black mud ankle deep stands. But in the wood the crystal garb of winter still remains, a dead level of crusty coldness in the morning, softening at noon so that the traveler slumps to his knees at every step, and at night resuming its frosty rigidity. Over a country like this the captives are driven.

The characteristic lope of the Indians, rapid and tireless at all times, is accelerated by a fear of pursuit; and the prisoners are hurrying at the top of their speed. Through brambles and undergrowth, up rocky hillsides and across ravines and swamps, push the savages and their captives, the weaker straining every nerve that they may not fall behind and be tomahawked. Some are without coats or frocks, some without hats, and some—in the chilling snow!—even without shoes or stockings. They are tough as the native hickory itself, these early settlers, man and woman. Their constitutions are of iron, else they would sink by the way, and die. Bye-and-bye, in about a month, we shall learn of some of them who have hearts of steel; but, until then, we shall believe they are dead or condemned to a long captivity.

Let us now attend to attacks being made on other dwellings in the town. After firing the Dustin house, the main body of the savages, separating into small parties, directed their attention to other domiciles in the vicinity, as I previously mentioned, massacring or making prisoners of the inmates. The following were killed: John Keezar, with his father and his son George; John Kimball and his mother, Hannah; Sarah Eastman; Thomas Eaton; Thomas Emerson, Elizabeth, his wife, and two children, Timothy and Sarah; Daniel Bradley, Hannah, his wife, and two children, Mary and Hannah; Martha, a daughter of Stephen Dow; Joseph, Martha, and Sarah Bradley, children of Joseph Bradley; Thomas

and Mehitable Kingsbury; Thomas Wood, and his daughter Susannah; John Woodman, and his daughter Susannah; Zachariah White; and Mrs. Dustin's infant, which was named Martha.

The Indians retreated with so much precipitation, that the armed body of men, which left the village in pursuit immediately upon the arrival of tidings of the massacre, failed to overtake them.

Col. Saltonstall was by some accused of neglecting his duty in regard to the defense of the town and the pursuit of the savages, and a committee was appointed by the assembly on the 22d of March to investigate the matter; but it is probable the charge was without foundation.

Energetic measures were immediately taken to prevent a repetition of this terrible visitation. Armed men were stationed in many of the dwellings; and a new brick house belonging to Thomas Dustin, before unoccupied, was ordered to be garrisoned, and Mr. Dustin was appointed commandant. He was given a force of six men—Josiah Heath, and son of the same name; Joseph Bradley; John Heath; and Joseph and Thomas Kingsbury.

Mr. Dustin was a brick-maker; and the men at work in his clay-pits, although only a short distance from the house, had constantly to be guarded by soldiers, on account of the enemy's boldness.

But no further attack was made during the year.

Sometime in the early part of May the community was thrown into intense excitement by the arrival down the river of Hannah Dustin,

with Mary Neff and a boy. She was believed to have perished; for the fact that she had arisen from a sick bed to make a forced march over weary miles of wilderness, half clad, in the bleak March weather, was considered sufficient reason for abandoning hope. But here she was, and it is easy to imagine the eagerness with which the recital of her adventure was heard by the people of Haverhill.

The house of the Indian who had claimed Mrs. Dustin and Mrs. Neff as his property was on Contoocook Island, which lies at the junction of the Contoocook and Merrimack rivers, near Concord, N. H.

Some time after the arrival of the savages and their prisoners at the island, and near the end of March, the captives—who consisted, in addition to Mrs. Dustin and Mrs. Neff, of a boy taken the preceding year in Worcester—were informed that soon they were to be taken to an Indian settlement some distance up country, and that, on arrival at that place, they would be stripped naked and forced to run the gantlet of the inhabitants. This determined Mrs. Dustin to make an effort to escape. She instructed the boy to inquire of his master the mode of taking a scalp, and also how to strike a blow so as to cause instant death. This the lad did, and the the Indian unwittingly gave the information which cost his life.

All was prepared. The night of the 30th of April* proved favorable. Mrs. Dustin arose. The other captives were awakened, and each procured a tomahawk. Silently they

took allotted positions among the sleeping savages, and, at a signal from their master-spirit, struck home. Only two of the Indians—a squaw who escaped after being wounded, and a boy, spared because of his tender years—were left alive. The others, ten in all, never awoke.

Mrs. Dustin secured what provisions were in the wigwam, took her master's gun and tomahawk, launched a canoe,—after scuttling the rest,—and prepared for a voyage down the river. But, lest her story should not be believed at home, she returned to the camp, and scalped the bodies, taking the ghastly trophies with her as vouchers of her prowess.

After reaching home, she proceeded to Boston, in company with her husband and the two companions of her captivity and her escape. Here a petition for reward for her exploit was presented to the General Court by Dustin. The Court thereupon allowed Mrs. Dustin £25, and Mary Neff and the boy £12, 10s. each.

Hannah Dustin was the daughter of Michael Emerson, and the oldest of fifteen children. She was born on the 23d of December, 1657, and married Thomas Dustin Dec. 3, 1677. They had thirteen children. Mrs. Dustin is said to have survived the death of her husband for some years, living with her son Jonathan, whose home was on the southwest part of his father's farm.

Thomas Dustin's birthplace is unknown; but it is supposed that he came from the vicinity of Dover, N. H. The name first appears on the records of Haverhill between

*Magnalia.

the years 1669-75. He was living as late as the year 1723, when he deeded some property to his son Timothy.

During the spring and summer, no fewer than three town-meetings were held to consider the question of building a new meeting-house. So much difference of opinion existed, however, in regard to the location, and to other matters, that it was not until two years afterwards that the new structure was utilized for the purpose for which it was built. This church was located on land now included in the common.

It is worthy of note, that, upon the formal acceptance of the edifice by the town, it was moved by Joseph Peasely that he and others might be granted leave to worship at the new meeting-house in accordance with their faith.* This motion was not even thought to be worthy of a vote, and was contemptuously cast aside.

In 1698, the Indians began their forays on the settlements early in the year. Feb. 22d, a band attacked Andover, killing and making prisoners of a number of the inhabitants; and, on their return, killed Jonathan Haynes and Samuel Ladd in the western part of Haverhill, and captured a son of each.

The particulars of this affair are as follows: Haynes and Ladd, with their sons, had started for West Meadow to haul home some hay which they had stacked the preceding year. While returning, they fell into an ambush. The men, seeing the impossibility of escape, surrendered, and begged for mercy.

*That of Friends, or Quakers.

This the Indians promised. Daniel Ladd, the younger, proposed to attempt to mount his father's horse, and escape; but his father forbade him. However, he cut the animal loose, and struck him sharply with the whip. With a bound, the horse placed himself beyond the reach of the Indians; and, although repeatedly shot at, made its way home at a gallop, thus giving the alarm.

Meanwhile, the Indians had tomahawked the men, and, with the boys, had started for Penacook, arriving in due time.

Young Ladd was soon after detected in an attempt to escape. As punishment, he was tied to a tree by one of his feet, and retained there a fortnight, the Indians in the meantime amusing themselves by gashing his face with their knives and filling the wounds with gunpowder, so effectually tattooing him that he carried the marks to his grave. He returned home after a captivity of several years.

Young Haynes was redeemed by his friend some years after his capture. He ingratiated himself into the good will of his Indian master so, that, on his departure for home, the savage presented him with a cane, as a token of esteem.

Later in the year, another party of red marauders, returning from a second raid on Andover, burned the buildings of Philip Eastman, in Haverhill.

This desultory warfare ended in May, a treaty having been signed with the Indians during that month at Casco. But peace was of short continuance, as the frontier towns were again threatened early in the year 1700.

Sewell says, that, in 1699, many people "died of an unusual distemper called the mumps."

The next year, a building was ordered to be erected for use as a watch-house, schoolhouse, or for such other purpose as might be necessary or convenient. It was built on Main St.

June 3d, it was ordered that a grammar-school be immediately established; and Richard Saltonstall was appointed to serve the town by procuring a teacher. In July, thirty pounds were raised for the purpose; but the project was given up.

At the annual town-meeting, in 1701, John White was chosen town-clerk in place of Nathaniel Saltonstall, who, having filled the office since 1668, now retired.

During the spring, predatory bands of Indians were constantly traversing the woods in the vicinity of the town. One of them attacked the garrison of Jonathan Emerson, but were repulsed with the loss of two warriors.

An additional garrison was this year ordered to be established. It was located at the foot of Sanders Hill, in the northeasterly part of the town, at the house of James Sanders.

Thomas Whittier,—ancestor of our venerable poet,—who lived in the vicinity of the Sanders garrison, refused to sleep there nights, as was customary with the settlers during Indian troubles, but remained within his own dwelling, trusting to the reputation of his sect (Quakers) to preserve his family from harm. It is worthy of remark, that he was never disturbed, although frequently visited by savages.

In 1702, ten pounds were added to the salary of Mr. Rolfe.

The town was this year "presented" for not having a schoolmaster, as required by law. One Mr. Tufts was hastily engaged, at a salary of thirty-four pounds. But, the following year, the engagement of Mr. Tufts having expired, it was voted to take no further action concerning a school, because of Indian troubles.

CHAPTER IX.

A FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.

THE protracted struggle, which now threatened the inhabitants of the frontier towns, began with the outbreak of hostilities similar to what is known as the French and Indian War, and the consequent incitement by the French of their savage allies.

The first onslaught on Haverhill came in 1704. On the afternoon of Feb. 8th, six Indians surprised the garrison of Joseph Bradley. A sentry, Jonathan Johnson, who was away from his post,—being in the house,—discovered the Indians rushing through the open gateway. Raising his musket, he shot and wounded the foremost; and Mrs. Bradley, snatching a ladle of boiling soap from the fire, dashed it upon the savage's head, scalding him to death.

Johnson was instantly slain by the remaining Indians, and Mrs. Bradley taken prisoner, together with four others.* A retreat was immediately begun, before the village could be alarmed.

The snow was deep; but Mrs. Bradley was compelled to carry a

*Pike's Journal

heavy burden, and to keep pace with her captors. To add to the forlornness of her situation, she was pregnant; and, while in the wilderness, with only the savages for protectors, and forced to subsist on bark and roots, her child was born. The Indians gashed its forehead with their knives, and afterwards piked it on a pole.*

As soon as Mrs. Bradley had regained some strength, the march toward Canada was resumed; and, on their arrival, the unfortunate woman was sold to the French for eighty livres.

The next year, Mrs. Bradley was ransomed by her husband, who journeyed all the way to Canada on foot. The re-united pair sailed from Montreal to Boston, and ultimately arrived safely at Haverhill. This is said to have been the second captivity of Mrs. Bradley; but the evidence thereon is conflicting, and it is doubtful if such be a fact.

In August, 1704, another attack was made on Haverhill, and Joseph Page and Bartholomew Heath were slain. The particulars of the affair are unknown.

During 1705, no attacks were made by the savages; but the settlers were constantly on their guard.

John Swan and Jonathan Emerson, at the annual town-meeting, were granted permission to build a gristmill on Little River.

A great freshet occurred in February, 1706.†

During the spring, the Indians once more began their forays on the frontier towns. On the 3d of July,

Serg. Kingsbury, of Haverhill, was killed or taken prisoner.*

Sometime during the summer, an attempt was made by the Indians to again take the house of Joseph Bradley, whose wife they had once or twice before taken captive. According to tradition, the only occupants of the house at the time were Mr. Bradley, his wife, hired man, and children. It was a clear, moonlit night, and the attacking party were discovered as they cautiously advanced. Mr. Bradley seized a gun, and aroused such of his family as were able to shoulder a piece. The savages, perceiving their failure to surprise the inmates, flung themselves against the door in an attempt to break it in. Their united strength forced the door partly open, and one of their number began to crowd himself through the aperture. It was a fatal mistake. Mrs. Bradley—who had declared she would die rather than again be made prisoner—shot him dead. His companions immediately retreated.

This was the last raid of 1706.

Crimes of a class now common in cities and large towns were not unknown at the time of which I write. Burglars having broken into the dwelling of Samuel Swan, and stolen the sum of fifty pounds, he petitioned the town for partial indemnity. His petition was denied.†

May 21, 1707, Nathaniel Saltonstall died. He left three sons—Gurdon, Richard, and Nathaniel—and one daughter. His son Gurdon, who had graduated from Harvard in 1684, was settled as minister in New Lon-

*Abiel Abbott's MS.
†Mirick.

*Pike.
†Mirick.

don, Conn.; and was Governor of Connecticut Colony from Jan. 1, 1708, to Sept. 20, 1724, the time of his death.

On the 24th of June, 1707, Joseph and Ebenezar, sons of Joseph Page, were killed by Indians. In August, another attack was made on Haverhill; and Nathan Simonds, a townsman, with Jonathan Marsh, of Salem, was wounded. Nothing further is known concerning these two attacks.

After several months of inaction, trouble appeared in the spring of 1708. A council of French and Indians had been held in Montreal; and its deliberations resulted in an agreement to raise a strong force to ravage the frontier of the English provinces. This force was to be composed of the principal warriors of every tribe in Canada, with French Canadians and officers of the French army, probably aggregating not less than eight hundred men. The Indians were to be led by La Perriere, while the French were to be commanded by De Chailons and the infamous Hertel de Rouville, who, four years previous, commanded at the Deerfield massacre.

It was decided to divide this army into two bodies—the French, with the Algonquin, the St. Francois, and the Huron Indians were to follow the route by the river St. Francois; and La Perriere, with the French Mohawks, was to pass by Lake Champlain. Lake Nickisipigue was the designated rendezvous, and there they were to meet the Norridgewock, the Penobscot, and other Eastern tribes.

The Governor of the colony of Massachusetts Bay received information of this formidable invading force; and troops were immediately despatched to exposed settlements. A company of about forty men were ordered to Haverhill. They were accompanied by three Salem officers—Maj. Turner, Capt. Price, and Capt. Gardner. These soldiers were posted in the garrisons and the more exposed habitations.

On the 16th of July, the invaders began their southward march. But circumstances were against them. Before the party composed of the French and their Indian allies arrived at the St. Francois River, a Huron was accidentally killed by a companion. His tribe considered this an ill omen, and deserted. The Mohawks thereupon pretended that an infectious distemper had broken out among them, and also returned. Governor Vaudreuil sent orders for the expedition to proceed, even if the savages all deserted. But the Algonquins and the St. Francois remained.

When the expedition reached Lake Nickisipigue, it was discovered that the Eastern Indians had broken faith.

These repeated losses caused a modification of the original plan, which had been to attack Portsmouth first, and from thence to march rapidly through the frontier, spreading death and ruin on every hand. Their strength was now inadequate to the task, the total force not exceeding two hundred and fifty men, but a fraction of the number which started from Canada.

Determined not to return without

accomplishing something, it was decided to attack Haverhill, then a compact village of about thirty houses.*

At daybreak on the 29th of August, the foe appeared on the outskirts of the village. Who first saw the enemy is not certainly known. One account states that John Keezar, while returning from Amesbury, discovered them. Another declares they were first seen by one Hutchings, who was out early for the purpose of milking his neighbors' cows; while still another contends they were discovered by a young man who had gone to the common very early in order to catch his horse.

Warning came too late. With horrid war-whoops the Indians scattered through the village. A Mrs. Smith, while attempting to reach a garrison, was shot dead, being the first victim of that bloody day.

An instant attack was made on the house of Mr. Rolfe, the minister, which stood on Summer St., on the site now occupied by the residence of Dr. Moses Nichols. Mr. Rolfe, awakened from sleep by the yells of the Indians, leaped from his bed, threw himself against the door,—which was fast yielding before the furious blows of the attack,—and shouted to three soldiers, who were stationed in the house, for assistance. But they were pacing the floor, wringing their hands and crying in fear.

A shot crashed through the door, and shattered Mr. Rolfe's elbow. Finding it impossible long to oppose the entrance of the besiegers, he

fled through the house and out at the back door. He was overtaken at the well, and tomahawked. The savages killed Mrs. Rolfe and her youngest child, Mehitable, which they tore from the arms of its dying mother, and dashed its brains out against a stone.

Two other children, Elizabeth* and Mary, about six and eight years old respectively, were saved by Hagar, a slave, who, at the first alarm, covered each with a tub in the cellar, and concealed herself. The Indians came into the cellar, repeatedly passing the tubs without suspecting their contents. Another inmate of the dwelling, Anna Whittaker, escaped by hiding in an apple-chest under the stairs. The cowardly soldiers, who dared not defend the house, were butchered with the other victims.

The house of Thomas Hartshorne stood a little west of the meeting-house. Mr. Hartshorne saw the enemy approaching, and, accompanied by two sons, ran out of the house for assistance. All three were instantly shot dead. A third son was tomahawked as he passed through the door.

Mrs. Hartshorne, abandoning her infant, which lay on a bed in the attic,—lest it cry and betray her place of concealment,—took the remainder of her children, and retired through a trap-door to the cellar. Fortunately, the Indians did not discover them; but they threw the abandoned babe out the window, where it fell upon a pile of clapboards, and was subsequently dis-

—
*In after years she was mother of the wife of Samuel Adams.

*Hutchinson.

covered to have been only stunned by the shock.*

The house of Lieut. John Johnson stood on the site now covered by the Exchange Building, Water St. Mr. Johnson and his wife were standing in the doorway—his wife holding a child in her arms—when the savages made their appearance. Johnson was shot down in his tracks; and his wife, fleeing through the garden,† was overtaken and killed. The child was not injured, and, tradition says, was afterwards found vainly striving to draw nourishment from the breast of its murdered mother.

The dwelling of Mr. Silver, located near the meeting-house, was sacked and burned; but the watch-house was successfully defended.

Capt. Simon Wainwright, whose residence was on Winter St., directly opposite the Winter St. Church,‡ was killed at the first fire. Soldiers stationed in the chambers of the dwelling were preparing to fight to the last extremity, when Mrs. Wainwright unexpectedly unbarred the door, and let the Indians in. The savages, although puzzled by this move, demanded money. Mrs. Wainwright retired, ostensibly to fetch it; and escaped with all her children, except one daughter, who was captured.

Perceiving that they had been outwitted, the savages fiercely attacked the chambers. But the soldiers repulsed the assault; and also killed two Indians who, from behind a large stone a few rods east of the

house, had been firing upon the occupants.

Two savages attacked the house of a villager named Swan. They were perceived approaching, and Mr. Swan and his wife prepared to defend their home to the last extremity. They resisted to the utmost of their strength the efforts of the enemy to force an entrance; but at last the superior power of the red men began to tell. Perceiving this Mr. Swan, who seems to have been a timid man, despaired of keeping them out, and thought it would be wise to surrender. But his wife thought differently. Seizing a spit, which was nearly three feet long, she drove it through the body of the foremost Indian, who, notwithstanding his wound, managed to beat a precipitate retreat with his comrade; and Mr. Swan's house was not again disturbed.*

The house of Nathan Simons was attacked, and Simons wounded in the arm. Nevertheless, he successfully defended his dwelling, shooting two of the savages.†

The rear of the meeting-house was set on fire by the enemy.

The foregoing incidents transpired at about the same time; for the work of plunder and rapine did not long continue. A villager by the name of Davis, going behind Mr. Rolfe's barn, struck on it violently with a club, at the same time shouting words of command, as if directing an attack. Thinking a large party of English were at hand, the Indians in Rolfe's house precipitately retreated, giving the alarm.

*This infant grew to be a man of extraordinary stature and strength.

†Where the Osgood Block, Main St., now stands
‡Chase.

*Tradition.

†Chase.

A company of soldiers under Maj. Turner actually did arrive about that time, and the entire force of French and Indians began a rapid retreat.

It was now about sunrise. Davis, whose strategem had alarmed the enemy, extinguished the fire at the meeting-house; and tradition says, that Samuel Sibley was killed while throwing water on the flames.* He probably came from Salem with Maj. Turner.

The town was now fully aroused. Joseph Bradley collected a small force, and captured the enemy's baggage, which had been left in the woods about three miles north of the village. Capt. Samuel Ayer rallied some twenty men, pursued the retreating foe, and came up with him as he was about to enter the woods. The locality was in the West Parish, between the Derry Road (North Broadway) and the Parsonage Road, on a rise of land southeast of Long Hill. The invaders faced about, but were instantly attacked by Capt. Ayer, notwithstanding they greatly outnumbered his command. Reinforcements soon arrived under command of a son of the captain, perhaps making the total sixty or seventy men.

After an hour's sharp skirmish, the French and Indians were routed, leaving a portion of their prisoners and nine dead fighting-men in possession of the settlers.

The invaders were now in a sorry plight, and suffered much in their flight. With no provisions, and no medicines for the treatment of their wounded,—all having been captured

with their baggage,—their condition was deplorable. Many of the French returned, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war; and the Indians released some of their captives, sending back the message, that, if the settlers persisted in the pursuit, the remainder would be put to death.

In all, the invaders had thirty men killed, among them being Hertel de Chamby, who was a brother of Rouville, and Vercheres, an officer of experience, both slain in the skirmish with Capt. Ayer; in which affray the famous sachem Assacambuit, armed with a sword presented to him by Louis XIV., fought side by side with the French commander-in-chief.

In the onset of this action, the intrepid Capt. Ayer was shot in the groin. He died almost instantly, bleeding so profusely that his son did not recognize the body because "it had on a pair of red breeches." Capt. Ayer was one of the selectmen and a deacon of the church.

Sixteen of the inhabitants of the town were slain during this bloody morning; viz., Rev. Benjamin Rolfe, his wife and one child; Mrs. Smith; Thomas Hartshorne and three sons; Lieut. John Johnson and his wife; Capt. Simon Wainwright; Capt. Samuel Ayer; John Dalton; Ruth, wife of Thomas Ayer, and one daughter; and Ruth, wife of Thomas Johnson. In addition, some thirty or forty were made prisoners.

The dead had now to be buried; and, the weather being extremely hot, haste was necessary. A large pit was dug in the burying-ground,

*Sibley's History of Union, Me.

and a number of bodies deposited therein. Mr. Rolfe, with his wife and child, were buried in one grave near the south part of the graveyard, and a monument was subsequently erected to their memory.

Perry, in his historical discourse on Bradford, says that Nehemiah Carleton was shot from across the river at the time of the attack on Haverhill, and that a workman employed in felling timber on the Haverhill shore was also shot. It is probable he refers to this attack.

A party of the enemy were discovered within the boundaries of the town on Sept. 25th, but they were driven off without loss.

CHAPTER X.

PEACE SECURED.

AMONG the captives taken in the raid mentioned in the foregoing chapter was Mary, daughter of Capt. Simon Wainwright. A petition for her redemption from her French captors was presented to the General Court by her mother in 1710.

One of the soldiers made prisoner at Capt. Wainwright's house was also taken prisoner. He returned in November, 1712, and wrote a narrative of his captivity. He belonged in Newbury, to which place he returned on coming back from Canada. The General Court ordered that £20, 15s be paid him, according to his petition for "charges and expenses to obtain his liberty."

On Oct. 18, 1708, the selectmen petitioned the General Court to abate the town's taxes because of the loss sustained by the Indian

raid, and that honorable body reduced the tax by thirty pounds.

Feb. 7, 1709, at a town-meeting, was chosen a committee to confer with the Rev. Nicholas Seaver, who had preached in the town since the previous fall, in regard to his settlement. A very liberal offer was afterward made him; but Mr. Seaver demanded terms to which the town refused compliance, and so his labors in the town ended.

His successor was Rev. Richard Brown, who gave universal satisfaction, and was requested to remain; but, for some reason, he declined after preaching in Haverhill twenty-four Sundays. The Rev. Joshua Gardner came next.

On the 29th of March, an attempt was made to murder Col. Richard Saltonstall by blowing up his dwelling during the night, with gunpowder. The deed was accomplished by a negress (doubtless a slave) whom the colonel had punished some time previous. The house was practically demolished, and the inmates were scattered promiscuously in various directions. Happily, none received fatal injuries. This deed could never be proved against the wench, but no doubt existed that she was the perpetrator.

Dec. 7th, the town voted to purchase the house of the late Rev. Benjamin Rolfe. Three hundred pounds was the price paid for house and land.

May 15, 1710, the town unanimously voted to invite Rev. Joshua Gardner to become their settled minister. In October, at a church meeting, it was agreed that his salary should be seventy pounds per

annum, one-half in money, the remainder in corn. At a town-meeting in December, a letter was read from Mr. Gardner, accepting the proffered position. He was ordained Jan. 10, 1711.

The town did not neglect precautions to prevent another Indian surprise. The garrisons were always manned, and the parsonage house was repaired and fortified. A company of soldiers, commanded by Lieut.-Col. Saltonstall, was kept drilled and equipped; and, by order of the General Court, each soldier was supplied with a pair of snowshoes.

An unsuccessful attempt to procure a grammar school teacher was made during the year. Obadiah Ayer, however, kept a school half the year, to teach "reading, writing, and ciphering."

John Swett, a native of Newbury, was this year appointed ferryman at the Rocks.

In 1712, the town was again "presented" for not having a schoolmaster.

During the spring of the succeeding year, the town directed the selectmen to build two schoolhouses, one in the northwestern part of the town, the other in the northeastern. A schoolmaster was also provided.

Articles of peace between the Indians and the colony were signed at Portsmouth on July 13, 1713. The event was hailed with greatest joy by red men and white; for peace promised to be lasting, and war had brought only death and calamity to all.

CHAPTER XI.

RETROSPECTIVE.

WHAT may be designated the first era of Haverhill's history was now complete. Henceforth the horrors of war were not to be hers. From a stockaded hamlet, whose inhabitants lived in perpetual dread of the savage foe, she was to blossom into a flourishing colonial town. For almost seventy-five years she had waged a bitter and doubtful battle for existence. Notwithstanding she was now larger than at the beginning, only those familiar to border life were able to maintain a foothold within her boundaries. But peace brought its blessings of prosperity and ultimate wealth; and the plantation of Pentucket waxed strong, and multiplied exceedingly in the years that followed. The frontier settlement of 1713 was far different from the flourishing town of 1797, of which Robert Gilmore, a Baltimore gentleman, wrote as follows, in his "Memorandums made in a tour of the Eastern States, in the year 1797:"—

"At four o'clock on Monday, I got into the stage, and returned to Boston by the way of Exeter and Haverhill, both of which are very pretty little villages, particularly the latter, which is situated very pleasantly on the banks of the Merrimack. Across the river is thrown one of the new constructed bridges, like that of Piscataqua, only this has three arches instead of one, and the works which supports the whole is above instead of being just below the bridge. I had time enough before dinner to step to the water's

edge, and take a sketch of it. While I stood there with my drawing-book laid upon a pile of plank which happened to be convenient, and intent upon my work, I did not observe the tide, which rose to my feet;

and, on looking down, perceived myself up to my ankles in the river. The water rose so gradually that I did not feel it, and never suspected that it could have been the case."

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